

Andréas Stauder

Linguistic Dating
of Middle Egyptian Literary Texts

Lingua Aegyptia
Studia Monographica

Herausgegeben von
Frank Kammerzell, Gerald Moers und Kai Widmaier

Band 12

“Dating Egyptian Literary Texts”

Göttingen, 9–12 June 2010

edited by
Gerald Moers, Kai Widmaier,
Antonia Giewekemeyer,
Arndt Lümers & Ralf Ernst

Volume 2

Institut für Archäologie
Humboldt Universität
Berlin

Widmaier Verlag
Hamburg

Institut für Ägyptologie
Universität Wien
Wien

Linguistic Dating
of Middle Egyptian Literary Texts

Andréas Stauder

Widmaier Verlag · Hamburg
2013

Titelaufnahme:
Andréas Stauder
Linguistic Dating of Middle Egyptian Literary Texts
Hamburg: Widmaier Verlag, 2013
("Dating Egyptian Literary Texts" Göttingen, 9–12 June 2010; Vol. 2)
(Lingua Aegyptia – Studia Monographica; Bd. 12)
ISSN 0946-8641
ISBN 978-3-943955-12-5

© Widmaier Verlag, Kai Widmaier, Hamburg 2013
Das Werk, einschließlich aller seiner Teile, ist urheberrechtlich geschützt.
Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist ohne Zustimmung
des Verlages unzulässig und strafbar. Das gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen,
Mikroverfilmungen und die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen.
Gedruckt auf säurefreiem, archivierfähigem Papier.
Druck und Verarbeitung: Hubert & Co., Göttingen
Printed in Germany

À Julie, Albane et Isaure

Acknowledgments

The present study represents a revised version of an habilitation thesis submitted at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, in 2013. This was directed by Pascal Vernus; the jury included James Allen, Alain Lemaréchal, Antonio Loprieno, Georges-Jean Pinault, Jean Winand, and Christopher Woods. The research was conducted at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and the Departement Altertumswissenschaften of the Universität Basel. It was made possible by the financial support of the Swiss National Science Foundation (2008-2013).

I am particularly grateful to Antonio Loprieno and Susanne Bickel for their unswerving support over the years.

I would like to thank Gerald Moers, Kai Widmaier, and Antonia Giewekemeyer for inviting me to the stimulating conference ‘Dating Egyptian Literary Texts’ held in Göttingen in June 2010. In writing this study I have benefited greatly from discussions with many colleagues and friends whom it is a pleasure to mention here, particularly James Allen, Antonia Giewekemeyer, Andrea Gnirs, Dimitri Laboury, Gerald Moers, Ludwig Morenz, Richard Parkinson, Anthony Spalinger, Julie Stauder-Porchet, Pascal Vernus, Kai Widmaier, and Jean Winand.

I thank the editors for accepting the present study in their series, and particularly Kai Widmaier for his enduring patience. I remain indebted to Gerald Moers and Kai Widmaier for reading and commenting on a previous draft. Julianna Paksi and Katharina Vogt read through the manuscript and checked references.

This study would not exist if not for the loving presence of Julie during these years and always. Thank you for all.

Basel, 26.10.2013

Content overview

INTRODUCTION	1
1 ASPECTS OF THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN THE EARLY/MID-SECOND MILLENNIUM BCE	3
1.1 Ongoing linguistic change documented in lower written registers	5
1.2 Higher written registers in the early Eighteenth Dynasty	17
1.3 Configurations of written language in the Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom	27
1.4 Possible linguistic registers of literature in the early Eighteenth Dynasty....	53
2 CONDITIONS AND STRATEGIES FOR LINGUISTIC DATING	57
2.1 Describing linguistic change in a low-density and highly formal record	57
2.2 Expressions that can provide dating criteria	63
2.3 Textual alterations in a manuscript culture	69
2.4 Language in Middle Egyptian literature	96
2.5 Interim summary: Horizons of expectation.....	134
2.6 Devising and applying a linguistic argument: Vernus' aspectual criteria.....	136
2.7 The limitations of linguistic dating 1: <i>Khakheperreseneb</i>	156
2.8 The limitations of linguistic dating 2: The <i>Teaching for Merikare</i>	175
3 NARROW DATING 'BY SQUEEZING'	201
3.1 Introduction	201
3.2 <i>Fishing and Fowling</i>	207
3.3 P. BM EA 10475 ro and vso	211
3.4 <i>Hymn to Hapi</i>	215

4	DIRECT DATING: TARGETING SPECIFIC CONFIGURATIONS IN WRITTEN LANGUAGE	237
4.1	Introduction	237
4.2	<i>Berlin Leather Roll</i>	249
4.3	<i>Sporting King</i>	257
4.4	<i>Neferkare and Sisene</i>	271
4.5	<i>Enseignement Loyaliste</i>	283
4.6	<i>Heavenly Cow</i>	301
4.7	<i>The Royal Cycle</i>	322
5	NEFERTI	337
5.1	The early dating: A distinguished option?	337
5.2	<i>Neferti, passim: Tw r sdm</i>	358
5.3	<i>Neferti 12b, 10e: Tw sdm</i>	376
5.4	<i>Neferti 7f, 9c: Tw with non-dynamic events</i>	398
5.5	Lexical indications for dating	399
5.6	Further indications: The prologue	406
5.7	Dating <i>Neferti</i>	412
5.8	Appendix: The early New Kingdom horizon	418
6	THE TEACHING OF AMENEMHAT	435
6.1	Evidence for an early dating?	435
6.2	<i>Amenemhat 11c-d: Tw with non-dynamic events</i>	448
6.3	Possible indications	484
6.4	Dating <i>Amenemhat</i>	493
7	CONCLUSION	499
7.1	Methods and strategies	499
7.2	Proposed datings and ranges for dating	508
7.3	Some implications	513
7.4	Prospects	520
	APPENDIX	523

Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
1 ASPECTS OF THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN THE EARLY/MID-SECOND MILLENNIUM BCE	3
1.1 Ongoing linguistic change documented in lower written registers.....	5
1.1.1 The ‘underlying language’ hypothesis	5
1.1.2 Innovative expressions in pre-Amarna times	9
1.2 Higher written registers in the early Eighteenth Dynasty	17
1.3 Configurations of written language in the Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom	27
1.3.1 ‘Spheres of written performance’	28
1.3.2 Direct evidence for linguistic registers of literature in the early New Kingdom	31
1.3.2.1 O. Nakhtmin 87/173.....	31
1.3.2.2 <i>Astarte</i>	33
1.3.2.3 <i>Teaching of Aametju</i>	35
1.3.3 The textual loci of innovative expressions	38
1.3.3.1 The Second Intermediate Period	38
1.3.3.2 <i>Kamose Inscriptions</i> , Emhab, Antefnakht	43
1.3.3.3 The early Eighteenth Dynasty	50
1.4 Possible linguistic registers of literature in the early Eighteenth Dynasty	53
2 CONDITIONS AND STRATEGIES FOR LINGUISTIC DATING	57
2.1 Describing linguistic change in a low-density and highly formal record	57
2.1.1 General models of change: The thickness of language in use.....	57
2.1.2 Studying linguistic change in the early/mid-second millennium record.....	59
2.1.3 Demonstrating innovation and obsolescence in the record	60
2.2 Expressions that can provide dating criteria	63
2.2.1 Morphology	63
2.2.2 Lexicon	64
2.2.3 Grammar	68

2.3	Textual alterations in a manuscript culture.....	69
2.3.1	Aspects of orthography in Eighteenth Dynasty manuscripts	70
2.3.1.1	Written grammatical morphology	70
2.3.1.2	Written lexical morphology: A case study in <i>Neferti</i>	72
2.3.2	The linguistic phenomenology of Eighteenth Dynasty manuscripts.....	74
2.3.2.1	Different textual histories.....	74
2.3.2.2	Possible alterations of lexical expressions	76
2.3.2.3	Possible alterations of grammatical expressions.....	76
2.3.3	Assessing the textual status of grammatical expressions: <i>NP hr sdm</i> and <i>N(P) sdm=f</i> in <i>Kheti</i>	79
2.3.4	Identifying the original reading based on New Kingdom manuscripts: <i>A Man to his Son</i> 3.1	83
2.3.4.1	The competing readings	83
2.3.4.2	Issues of grammar	86
2.3.4.2.1	<i>N sdm.tw</i> in <i>Ipuwer</i>	87
2.3.4.2.2	The passive counterpart of <i>N(P) sdm=f</i> in Middle Egyptian.....	90
2.3.5	Dating <i>Ptahhotep</i> 60-83 based on a late Eighteenth Dynasty manuscript.....	92
2.4	Language in Middle Egyptian literature	96
2.4.1	Different configurations of written language	97
2.4.2	Middle Egyptian literature.....	99
2.4.3	The thickness of language in literature.....	101
2.4.3.1	Contrasting registers within a composition.....	102
2.4.3.2	The diachronic breadth of Middle Egyptian in individual compositions	103
2.4.3.3	Digression: A very brief note on dating <i>Ptahhotep</i>	108
2.4.4	Register in <i>Cheops' Court</i>	110
2.4.4.1	Preliminary: A very brief note on dating <i>Cheops' Court</i>	110
2.4.4.2	<i>P3</i>	113
2.4.4.2.1	A linguistic index.....	113
2.4.4.2.2	In Middle Egyptian literature	114
2.4.4.3	<i>Cheops' Court – Kagemni, Eloquent Peasant</i>	117
2.4.4.4	<i>Cheops' Court – Tale of P. Lythgoe, Sasobek, Tale of Hay</i>	120
2.4.4.5	<i>Cheops' Court – Sinuhe, etc.</i>	122
2.4.4.6	Further elements of linguistic inclusiveness	125
2.4.4.7	Dialogues, characterization, humor.....	128
2.4.4.8	Summary	131
2.4.5	Play with language	132
2.5	Interim summary: Horizons of expectation	134

2.6	Devising and applying a linguistic argument: Vernus' aspectual criteria	136
2.6.1	Introduction	136
2.6.1.1	Background: A change in the expression of aspect	136
2.6.1.2	The double criterion as originally formulated.....	137
2.6.2	The <i>ante quem non</i> criterion.....	139
2.6.2.1	Issues of transitivity?.....	139
2.6.2.2	<i>Eloquent Peasant</i> B1 128-134 and B1 135-138.....	141
2.6.2.3	<i>Eloquent Peasant</i> B1 257-262 and B1 179-181.....	143
2.6.2.4	<i>Ipuwer</i>	145
2.6.2.5	<i>Khakheperreseneb</i>	148
2.6.2.6	<i>Fishing and Fowling, A Man to his Son,</i> <i>and Neferkare and Sisene</i>	149
2.6.2.7	Vernus' aspectual <i>ante quem non</i> criterion recast.....	150
2.6.3	The <i>post quem non</i> criterion.....	152
2.6.3.1	$N(P) sdm=f$ as a 'non-extensive' in post-Middle Kingdom times	152
2.6.3.2	Dissociating the <i>ante quem non</i> and <i>post quem non</i> criteria	155
2.7	The limitations of linguistic dating 1: <i>Khakheperreseneb</i>	156
2.7.1	Introduction	157
2.7.2	A terminus <i>post quem non</i> earlier than the Eighteenth Dynasty?	158
2.7.2.1	Middle Egyptian language	158
2.7.2.2	Rare literary expressions, unparalleled after the Twelfth Dynasty	160
2.7.2.3	<i>Khakheperreseneb</i> and <i>Eloquent Peasant</i> : A common literary tradition.....	162
2.7.3	A terminus <i>ante quem non</i> lower than by Vernus' criterion?	163
2.7.3.1	Two fallacious 'arguments'.....	163
2.7.3.2	Problematic, uncertain, or insufficiently consolidated indications	166
2.7.3.3	The lexicon.....	172
2.7.3.4	Expressions recurring combined	173
2.7.4	Dating <i>Khakheperreseneb</i>	174
2.8	The limitations of linguistic dating 2: The <i>Teaching for Merikare</i>	175
2.8.1	Introduction	175
2.8.2	A terminus <i>post quem non</i> earlier than the early Eighteenth Dynasty? ...	176
2.8.2.1	Middle Egyptian language	177
2.8.2.2	Rare expressions.....	178
2.8.2.3	Subtle contrasts in meaning: $N(P) sdm=f$ and $NP hr sdm$	180

2.8.3	A terminus <i>ante quem non</i> ?	182
2.8.3.1	<i>Merikare</i> E 67-68	182
2.8.3.2	<i>Merikare</i> E 14	184
2.8.3.3	<i>Merikare</i> E 30-31	188
2.8.3.4	The lexicon	189
2.8.3.5	Digression: A very brief note on dating <i>Duties of the Vizier</i>	191
2.8.3.6	Other elements of language	194
2.8.3.7	Groups of expressions	195
2.8.4	Dating <i>Merikare</i>	198
3	NARROW DATING ‘BY SQUEEZING’	201
3.1	Introduction	201
3.1.1	Conditions to be met	201
3.1.2	An illustration: Dating <i>Eloquent Peasant</i>	203
3.2	<i>Fishing and Fowling</i>	207
3.2.1	Grammar: Broad dating	207
3.2.2	Lexicon: Evidence for a narrow dating	208
3.2.3	Dating <i>Fishing and Fowling</i>	211
3.3	P. BM EA 10475 ro and vso	211
3.3.1	<i>Tale Involving the House of Life</i> (P. BM EA 10475 vso)	212
3.3.2	<i>Eulogistic Account of a King</i> (P. BM EA 10475 ro)	214
3.4	<i>Hymn to Hapi</i>	215
3.4.1	<i>Hymn</i> 4.7: New subject pronoun	215
3.4.1.1	The original reading?	216
3.4.1.2	Marginal instances of <i>sw</i> -headed clauses in Middle Egyptian	218
3.4.1.3	Early attestations of the new subject pronoun	221
3.4.1.4	The broader construction	223
3.4.2	<i>Hymn</i> 2.5, 12.1-2: <i>Hr-sdm=f</i> in the second part of a correlative system	224
3.4.2.1	<i>Hr-sdm=f</i> or <i>hr nfr sw</i> ?	224
3.4.2.2	The rise of <i>hr-sdm=f</i>	226
3.4.2.3	Setting <i>sdm=f</i> – <i>hr</i> -headed construction	231
3.4.3	<i>Hymn</i> 6.4: <i>Tw sdm</i>	232
3.4.4	<i>Hymn</i> 3.7: Inchoative <i>šsp</i>	232
3.4.5	Dating <i>Hymn to Hapi</i>	233
3.4.6	Appendix: Lexical notes	235

4	DIRECT DATING: TARGETING SPECIFIC CONFIGURATIONS IN WRITTEN LANGUAGE	237
4.1	Introduction.....	237
4.1.1	General conditions for a direct dating	237
4.1.2	A Gedankenexperiment: Dating <i>Chapelle Rouge</i> linguistically	238
4.1.3	Another Gedankenexperiment: Dating <i>Sinuhe</i> (B) linguistically.....	242
4.2	<i>Berlin Leather Roll</i>	249
4.2.1	<i>Berlin Leather Roll</i> 2.4: The syntax of <i>is</i>	250
4.2.2	<i>Berlin Leather Roll</i> 1.12 <i>hpr=f-it=f</i> ‘born-conqueror’	253
4.2.3	<i>Berlin Leather Roll</i> 1.19 <i>m-rʒ-ʿ</i> ‘as well, likewise’	254
4.2.4	Varia in the lexicon	256
4.2.5	Assessing the evidence	257
4.3	<i>Sporting King</i>	257
4.3.1	Non-linguistic elements for dating	258
4.3.2	<i>Sporting King</i> A2.2: <i>Mi sy-išst</i>	260
4.3.2.1	Analyzing a unique expression	260
4.3.2.2	An expression secondarily inserted in the text?	264
4.3.3	<i>Sporting King</i> C1.11: <i>M-ht nn</i> + ‘narrative’ infinitive	266
4.3.4	Varia	268
4.3.5	Dating <i>Sporting King</i>	270
4.4	<i>Neferkare and Sisene</i>	271
4.4.1	Introduction	271
4.4.2	P. Chassinat I, X+3.x+11: A case of linguistic recomposition	273
4.4.2.1	Interpreting an apparently aberrant construction	273
4.4.2.2	Dating an apparently aberrant construction	274
4.4.3	Innovative expressions	276
4.4.3.1	P. Chassinat I, X+3.x+4-5: A segment of direct speech	276
4.4.3.2	P. Chassinat I, X+3.x+11-14 and T. OIC 13539 3-4: The syntax of <i>iw</i>	277
4.4.4	Varia	279
4.4.4.1	A fronted temporal expression	279
4.4.4.2	The lexicon.....	279
4.4.4.3	Some formulations	280
4.4.5	Dating <i>Neferkare and Sisene</i>	282
4.5	<i>Enseignement Loyaliste</i>	283
4.5.1	Introduction	283
4.5.2	<i>Loyaliste</i> 5.5-6: The syntax of <i>ist</i>	288

4.5.3	Varia	290
4.5.3.1	<i>Loyaliste</i> 9.9: <i>G3y.tw</i>	290
4.5.3.2	<i>Loyaliste</i> 11.8: <i>Ir A, B</i>	290
4.5.3.3	Possible lexical indications	291
4.5.4	Dating <i>Loyaliste</i> linguistically	292
4.5.5	The long and short versions compared	293
4.5.5.1	<i>Loyaliste</i> 5.1-14	293
4.5.5.2	<i>Loyaliste</i> 2-5	295
4.5.5.3	<i>Loyaliste</i> 1-6: Compositional perspectives	298
4.6	<i>Heavenly Cow</i>	301
4.6.0	Inconclusive expressions	302
4.6.1	Narrative constructions	304
4.6.1.1	<i>Heavenly Cow</i> 133-134 and 77-79: Two expressions for 'dawning'	304
4.6.1.2	<i>Heavenly Cow</i> 130: A 'narrative' construction of the infinitive fully integrated with the narrative texture	306
4.6.2	<i>Heavenly Cow</i> 132: A hybrid narrative construction	307
4.6.3	<i>ʿtpn</i> demonstratives in context	310
4.6.4	Further elements for a direct dating	313
4.6.4.1	<i>Heavenly Cow</i> 15: The syntax of <i>ist</i>	313
4.6.4.2	<i>Heavenly Cow</i> 2: <i>M-ht</i> expressing simultaneity	314
4.6.5	Varia	316
4.6.5.1	Two more cases of possible linguistic hybridity	316
4.6.5.2	Late features	318
4.6.6	Dating <i>Heavenly Cow</i>	319
4.6.7	Appendix: Lexical notes	320
4.7	The <i>Royal Cycle</i>	322
4.7.1	Old Egyptian expressions	323
4.7.2	Further elements of Thutmoside Middle Egyptian	329
4.7.3	<i>Sw</i> -headed constructions in the <i>Royal Cycle</i>	331
4.7.4	Dating the <i>Royal Cycle</i>	335
5	<i>NEFERTI</i>	337
5.1	The early dating: A distinguished option?	337
5.1.1	Introduction	338
5.1.2	A dating to the early Twelfth Dynasty? Possible historical references and interpretive frames	339
5.1.2.1	'Ameny' (13a)	339

5.1.2.2	The ‘Walls of the Ruler’ (15a).....	340
5.1.2.3	Interpretive frames	343
5.1.3	A dating to the Middle Kingdom more broadly? A common Middle Egyptian literary tradition.....	344
5.1.3.1	Transmission and reception.....	344
5.1.3.2	Motifs in common with <i>Eloquent Peasant</i> and <i>Kagemni</i> : The prologue	346
5.1.3.3	Motifs in common with <i>Eloquent Peasant</i> : The lament	349
5.1.4	Middle Egyptian language.....	353
5.1.4.1	A linguistic dating to the early Twelfth Dynasty?	354
5.1.4.2	A linguistic dating to the Middle Kingdom more broadly?	355
5.1.5	Interim summary	357
5.2	<i>Neferti</i> , <i>passim</i> : <i>Tw r sdm</i>	358
5.2.1	<i>Ptahhotep</i> 82 P: An instance of <i>tw r sdm</i> in a Middle Kingdom literary text?.....	358
5.2.2	Bare <i>tw r sdm</i> as integral to the original text of <i>Neferti</i>	361
5.2.3	Bare <i>tw r sdm</i>	363
5.2.3.1	Attestation	363
5.2.3.2	In a personal name	364
5.2.3.3	In <i>Neferti</i> : Textual hierarchies and macro-syntax	365
5.2.3.4	A de facto literary construction in <i>Neferti</i>	367
5.2.4	(<i>X</i>) <i>tw r sdm</i>	368
5.2.5	The expression of future passive events in early/mid-Twelfth Dynasty literary texts.....	370
5.3	<i>Neferti</i> 12b, 10e: <i>Tw sdm</i>	376
5.3.1	<i>Tw sdm</i> in <i>Neferti</i>	376
5.3.1.1	<i>Neferti</i> 12b.....	376
5.3.1.2	<i>Neferti</i> 10e.....	377
5.3.1.3	<i>Neferti</i> 10e and 12b in the broader temporal articulation of the composition	379
5.3.2	<i>Tw sdm</i> outside <i>Neferti</i> : <i>Hymn</i> 6.4 and <i>Kheti</i> 3.5-6.....	383
5.3.2.1	<i>Hymn</i> 6.3-4.....	383
5.3.2.2	<i>Kheti</i> 3.5-6.....	384
5.3.3	The construction <i>tw sdm</i> : Functions and status in Middle Egyptian grammar.....	388
5.3.4	(<i>X</i>) <i>tw hr sdm</i>	390
5.3.4.1	A preliminary note on <i>wn</i> .(<i>X</i>) <i>tw hr sdm</i>	390
5.3.4.2	(<i>X</i>) <i>tw hr sdm</i> : Early attestations	392

5.3.5 The passive counterpart of <i>NP hr sdm</i> in Middle Kingdom Middle Egyptian.....	394
5.3.5.1 Documentation.....	395
5.3.5.2 Setting the observations into a broader linguistic context	397
5.3.5.3 Implications.....	398
5.4 <i>Neferti</i> 7f, 9c: <i>Tw</i> with non-dynamic events.....	398
5.5 Lexical indications for dating.....	399
5.5.1 <i>Neferti</i> 3c <i>hps̄</i> ‘sickle-shaped sword’	399
5.5.1.1 The word <i>hps̄</i> ‘sickle-shaped sword’	399
5.5.1.2 To emend or not to emend?.....	401
5.5.2 <i>Neferti</i> 12f <i>bh</i> ‘forced labor’	405
5.6 Further indications: The prologue.....	406
5.6.1 <i>Neferti</i> 1a-b <i>hpr.n swt wn(n)</i> (...).....	406
5.6.2 <i>Neferti</i> 1c <i>w^c m nn n hrw hpr</i> (...).....	409
5.7 Dating <i>Neferti</i>	412
5.7.1 Temporal range for dating.....	412
5.7.1.1 Temporal resolution of individual criteria	413
5.7.1.2 Dating <i>Neferti</i> based on full linguistic arguments.....	415
5.7.2 Further indications for dating	416
5.7.3 Some implications	418
5.8 Appendix: The early New Kingdom horizon	418
5.8.1 The prologue.....	420
5.8.1.1 The ‘Royal Tale’	420
5.8.1.2 The search motif.....	420
5.8.1.3 The textual thematization of pleasure associated with words.....	421
5.8.1.4 Some further details	423
5.8.2 The final affirmative section	425
5.8.2.1 ‘Announcing’ (<i>sr</i>) kingship: Hatshepsut’s <i>Chapelle Rouge</i>	425
5.8.2.2 Affirmation set against previous trouble: <i>Speos Artemidos</i>	426
5.8.3 The lament.....	427
5.8.3.1 Mythical elements alluded to in the lament	427
5.8.3.2 Hymns to the Nileflood.....	428
5.8.3.3 Restoration inscriptions.....	430
5.8.3.4 Royal eulogy and its literary reversal: Ahmose’s <i>Karnak Eulogy</i>	431
5.8.4 Closing remark	433

6	<i>THE TEACHING OF AMENEMHAT</i>	435
6.1	Evidence for an early dating?	435
6.1.1	Introduction	435
6.1.2	A terminus <i>post quem non</i> by quotations or allusions?	437
6.1.3	Language	441
6.1.3.1	Middle Egyptian language: A discussion of <i>Amenemhat</i> 7c-f....	441
6.1.3.2	A direct dating to the Twelfth Dynasty? <i>Amenemhat</i> 6f <i>ir.kw</i>	444
6.2	<i>Amenemhat</i> 11c-d: <i>Tw</i> with non-dynamic events	448
6.2.1	Intrusive <i>tw</i> 's in textual transmission	449
6.2.1.1	- <i>t</i> → <i>tw</i>	449
6.2.1.2	Easing referent tracking	450
6.2.1.3	<i>Amenemhat</i> 11c-d	453
6.2.2	The spread of <i>tw</i> to non-dynamic events	454
6.2.2.1	Introduction	454
6.2.2.2	Tracking the change: Issues of method	455
6.2.2.3	The first step of the change: <i>Tw</i> spreading to events that lack an agentive participant in their semantic representation	457
6.2.2.4	The second step of the change: <i>Tw</i> spreading to non- dynamic events	459
6.2.2.5	Digression: Notes on <i>Ipuwer</i>	463
6.2.2.6	Digression: Notes on <i>Kheti</i>	468
6.2.2.6.1	<i>Kheti</i> 3.5-6 (...) <i>tw nd-ḥrt=f tw ḥ3b=f</i> (...)	469
6.2.2.6.2	<i>Kheti</i> 1.3 <i>ist rf sw m ḥnty</i> (...)	470
6.2.2.6.3	Two lexical notes	473
6.2.2.6.4	Dating <i>Kheti</i>	475
6.2.2.7	Interim summary	476
6.2.3	Functional counterparts of <i>tw</i> -marked forms with non-dynamic events in early/mid-Twelfth Dynasty Middle Egyptian	476
6.2.3.1	Actor nominalization of the event	476
6.2.3.2	Active construction with a non-specified subject <i>s</i> 'a man'	477
6.2.3.3	Subjectless active construction	478
6.2.3.4	Formulaic language in inscriptional registers?	480
6.2.3.5	Functional counterparts in early/mid-Twelfth Dynasty literary texts	481
6.3	Possible indications	484
6.3.1	Interpreting a linguistic selection: <i>Amenemhat</i> 15c <i>tw</i>	484
6.3.1.1	Old independent pronouns in post-Coffin Text Middle Egyptian	485
6.3.1.2	Interpretation	487

6.3.2	Lexicon.....	488
6.3.2.1	<i>Amenemhat</i> 1d <i>nsy</i> ‘to rule’	489
6.3.2.2	<i>Amenemhat</i> 7b <i>ḥw-ny-r-ḥr</i> ‘combat’	491
6.4	Dating <i>Amenemhat</i>	493
6.4.1	Temporal range for dating.....	493
6.4.2	Further linguistic indications.....	494
6.4.3	<i>Amenemhat</i> and <i>Sinuhe</i>	495
7	CONCLUSION.....	499
7.1	Methods and strategies.....	499
7.1.1	The objects to be dated: General issues.....	499
7.1.2	Dating indexed on linguistic change	501
7.1.3	Alternative strategies.....	505
7.2	Proposed datings and ranges for dating	508
7.3	Some implications.....	513
7.3.1	Prior circulation.....	514
7.3.2	Linguistic registers of Middle Egyptian literature	515
7.3.3	A gradual development	517
7.3.4	The early/mid-Twelfth Dynasty	519
7.4	Prospects	520
	APPENDIX	523
	Texts.....	525
	References.....	529
	Index locorum	551